1: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

614 earlier paragraphs (pp. 164–169); these symbols evidently represent an
[302] exclusively maternal organization into clans consecrated to sole tutelaries. The tutelaries, or totems, together with the clan names and all personal designations connected with the totems, are highly esoteric, and were not ascertained save in the few cases mentioned above.[1]

593 It should be observed that the identification of kindred by the alien observer is difficult and somewhat uncertain, since the relationships recognized in Seri society are not equivalent to those customary among Caucasians. It was found especially difficult to identify the husband
[582] of the jacal, partly because he is commonly incongruously younger (and hence relatively smaller) than the mistress, and partly because of the undignified position of outer guard into which he is forced by the tribal etiquette. Moreover, his connection with the house is veiled by the absence of authority over both children and domestic affairs, though he exercises such authority freely (within the customary limits) in the
[842] jacales of his female relatives. There is, indeed, some question as to the clear recognition of paternity; certainly the females have no term
601 for "my father", i. e., the term is the same as that for "my mother", *em*, though the males distinguish the maternal ancestor by a suffixed syllable (*e*="my father"; *e-ta* or *i'-tah*="my mother"), which seems to be a magnificative or an intensificative element. It is noteworthy that the kinship terminology is strikingly meager; also that while the records suggest various significant points, the material is hardly rich enough to warrant complete synthesis of the consanguineal system.

421 While the burden of the more permanent property pertains to the women, there is a decided differentiation of labor with a concomitant vesting of certain property in the warriors—the distinctively masculine chattels comprising arrows, quivers, bows, turtle-harpoons, etc. There are indications that the balsas, too, are regarded as masculine property. The impermanent possessions—water, food, etc—seem to be the common property of men, women, and children, except in so far as the
[264] right is regulated by regimentation; for the privileges of eating and drinking are enjoyed in the order of seniority. In the reckoning of
554 seniority, the chief (who is comonly such in virtue of his position as
602 nominal elder brother of a prolific dame) ranks first, and is followed by other warriors in an order affected in an undetermined way by conjugal relations as well as by their prowess or sagacity (the equivalents of age in primitive philosophy) down to an undetermined point—apparently fixed by puberty; then comes the clanmother, followed by her daughters in the order of nominal age, which is affected by the status of spouses and the number of living offspring; finally come the children, practically in the order of their strength (which also is deemed an equivalent of age), though the girls—especially those

[121] [1] The chief object of the 1895 expedition was to pursue the inquiries concerning social organization, totems, etc; but, as mentioned elsewhere, this object was defeated by the troublous history of the tribe during the earlier part of 1895, and the consequent revival and intensification of their animosity toward aliens.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

in endearment when drunk. This may apply also to other siblings-in-law. 607

Younger siblings (? and other relatives) may say nothing obscene before the older, out of respect for them; but the older talk freely before the younger. This applies to both men and women. Otherwise there seems to be little prudery; the informant recited the names of the private parts before his wife and children, and she indifferently repeated them after him in confirmation. 593 834

There is no teknonymy. 551

The dead are buried. Cremation of the body seemed unknown to the informant. All property of the dead person is burned or destroyed. His balsa was burned; modern boats are not, because they "belong to the government," which furnishes the lumber. The house is abandoned and a new one built a short distance away. The name of the dead is not spoken. 76 [422]

Kinship

The Seri kinship system is distinguished by three general features: the large number of terms; the strong tendency to terms reciprocal in meaning; and the distinction made between older and younger siblings of nearer relatives if they are of the same sex. All of these are characteristic Yuman traits. 601

The number of terms obtained is 50; which number might have been increased if step-relatives, great-grandparents, great-uncle-aunts, siblings of siblings-in-law, spouses of uncles-aunts, and spouses had been inquired for. However, the informant seemed to feel that the list was exhausted with the set obtained; before that, he pursued the subject of his own accord. Fifty is an unusually large number of kinship names in any language; the more so, since there are no cousin terms. The 12 siblings-in-law terms—a quite extraordinary number—swell the total.

Conceptually reciprocal terms dominate the system except in the sibling class. The informant soon realized this principle. Some of the reciprocals are derivatives; others are not; self-reciprocals are lacking. This last fact helps increase the size of the system.

The distinction between older and younger siblings of the same (but not of the opposite) sex as nearer relatives is consistently carried out for uncles-aunts and spouses' siblings (or siblings' spouses).

ôl	father	reciprocals	loâ'k (man's son), ôq man's daughter)
o't·a	mother	rec. lq/t	(woman's child)
o'p·âc	father's father	rec. ik-o'pâc	(man's son's child)
omôc	father's mother	rec. oka'nak	(woman's son's chd.)
ô'ôc	mother's father	rec. iqôci	(man's dtr.'s child)
ôkt	mother's mother	rec. iqnq	(woman's dtr.'s chd.)

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930)1931 NU31 Seri NU31

601

eeke	older brother (of man or woman)		
eXa"e	younger brother (of man or woman?)		
l'q·de	younger brother of woman	rec. 'lpák	(older sister of man)
huya'k	younger brother (reference, not address?)		
emya'k	younger brother (term of endearment, cuando contento)		
eh'"me	younger sister (of man)		
etke	older sister of woman	rec. lca'k	(yngr. sister of w.)
ema"dx	father's older brother	rec. ek-ma"k(x)	(man's y. br.'s child)
e'ite	father's younger br.	rec. ekó'tac (ekó'pac?)	(man's o. br.'s child)
a'yak	father's sister	rec. icôk	(woman's br.'s child)
etma"dx	mother's older sister	rec. etxema"d(x)	(woman's y. sis. ch.)
inta'k	mother's younger sis.	rec. epxac	(woman's o. sis. ch.)
exak	mother's brother	rec. e"ak	(man's sister's child)

All cousins, cross and parallel, are said to be brothers and sisters. The cases used as tests did not suffice to determine whether the names used depend on the respective ages of the cousins or of their parents.

eqêqt	man's parent-in-law	rec. iqaqa'm	(son-in-law)
iqe'pêc	woman's father in law	rec. iqa'mâc	(daughter-in-law)
iqêmêc	woman's mother in law		
iqe'mut	wife's brother	rec. eqtañqwa'l	(man's sis. husband)
eqmaXê'te	wife's older sister	rec. etmaXêm*	(wom. y. sis.'s husb.)
ika'ite	wife's younger sister	rec. imaqe'te	(wom. o. sis.'s husb.)
eqwaq	husband's sister	rec. ikôk	(wom.'s br.'s wife)
iqma"aX	hus.'s older brother	rec. eqmaXêt	(man's y. br.'s wife)
iqê'ite	hus.'s younger brother	rec. iqe'tac ha'ta	(man's o. br.'s wife)

* Term of endearment, when drunk; otherwise they do not speak.

171
601

There is no word for child's parent-in-law (consuegro).

That a man distinguishes his son and daughter but a woman calls them by a single term, is a Yuman trait.

The number of sibling terms is greater than among the Yumans. The Diegueño-Kamia agree with the majority of Californian tribes in having four terms: older and younger brother and sister. The Yuma and Mohave have three, older siblings being merged; the Papago, two.

Six uncle-aunt terms, allotted as among the Seri, prevail through southern California, including the Yuman tribes; also among Walapai-

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

Havasupai. This therefore looks like a trait of Yuman origin. The Papago go farther, with eight terms. 171 601

The Seri habit of calling cross cousins siblings prevails through central and northern California alongside the trait of designating them by uncle-nephew terms. All southern California, including the Yuman tribes, has special cross cousin terms. The Walapai-Havasupai combine the last two methods.

As compared with the three Seri parent-in-law terms, the California Yumans have two, the Walapai-Havasupai one. The twelve Seri sibling-in-law terms are most nearly approached in California by the Yuman Kamia, with seven. The Yuma have five; the Mohave, like the majority of Californian tribes, three. The Walapai-Havasupai, like the Hopi and apparently the Pima-Papago, have reduced separate terms for both siblings-in-law and children-in-law to very few.

Calendar and Astronomy

One informant said there were 12 moons in the year; another, 6. The list obtained consists of 12. Of these, about 6 refer to seasonal events, especially those concerned with food; 6 to constellations. This type of calendar resembles that of the Walapai-Havasupai. 805 821

1. June, eko'ɬaX hi'caX, mesquite ripe.
2. July, antia'ɬa hi'caX, grass green, rains.
3. August, soxwe'mal or xacuxe'mal (cf. 7), (certain stars) not yet visible (before dawn); tunas.
4. September, hê'to-ya'o, (stars of that name) appear; cold begins.
5. October, e'-ya'o, constellation jackrabbit (e') rises in morning.
6. November, na'pXe-ya'o, constellation buzzard (nâ'pXe) appears (in morning).
7. December, xasoXwe'mal me'e (cf. 3; verified) (certain stars) not yet visible.
8. January, koyaXca'k, certain stars just begin to show; small sea-turtles appear.
9. February, koyaXa'ku, larger turtles appear.
10. March, eXno'lcen't hi'caX, eel-grass sea-weed (xno'ls) "appears." See below.
11. April, iqâ'tmu hi'caX, sharks (a'qât) come.
12. May, ema'mems hi'caX, pitahaya ripe (ema'm was given as ripe fruit of sahuaro, pitahaya, etc.)

Some of these names appear to be merely connotive of the events to which they refer. The seasonal happenings would probably be more truly placed if the calendar fell a fortnight to a month later, beginning in June-July or July instead of June. This would put the beginning at about the summer solstice, and might account for the statement that the "year" had six moons. The list was recorded on

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930)1931 NU31 Seri NU31

114 583 As to the "total absence" (p. 285) of marriage purchase, whereas I found it, such purchase can hardly be believed to have originated wholly within the last 35 years, in view of its wide distribution in native America.

114 614 The whole matter of maternal lineages crystallized into totemic clans with matron rule (pp. 10-11, 167-8, 269 seq.) seems a fantasy. A careful reading of the passages in questions reveals how much McGee has built up on statements which he conscientiously admits to have been slender, probable only, and subject to possible misunderstanding. It must be remembered that in 1894 the matriarchate as original and primitive was still standard anthropological doctrine. At any rate, I got nothing suggesting even matrilineal reckoning in my indirect approaches to the subject, and explicit denials when it was directly presented.

114 342 That house-building may now and then be "accompanied by a chant" (p. 223) is possible, though it seems out of accord with the haphazard and shiftless methods of Seri work and the flimsy irregularity of their homes; but that the chant was "usually led by the eldest matron" seems more matriarchate.

114 174 That the Upanguayma, Guayma, and Tepoka were successively "extruded" (p. 75) would be correct if there were anything to show that the Seri were the parent stock of superior virtue, conservatism, and faithful attachment to their original habitat.

114 601 The statement (p. 11) that "kinship terms are strikingly scanty," made in the face of round-about and imperfect speech communications with the Seri, I cite only as an indication of the degree of McGee's readiness to fall back upon his preconceptions when facts became thin.

114 304 I did not note the absence of superior medial incisor teeth observed by McGee (p. 169) in married women. If a regular practise, its connection with the puberty rite would be a natural inference. But knocking out of teeth is a rare custom in America.

114 224 McGee's statements (pp. 196-7) that it is "undignified, if not wrong" to kill deer other than with the hands, and that jackrabbits are "customarily taken alive to camp," seem over-emphases. That a sense of sport or passing pride, or lack of weapons, now and then leads to such happenings, I do not doubt; but the Seri seem too practical and unromantic to exact rules on the point. I suspect that a youth who insisted on living up to them would soon be considered a vain bore. I may add that I saw a crippled wild duck hobble about the camp on Tiburon for two days, being played with occasionally by the children—without unusual roughness or unkindliness—and that finally it wandered to the water and gradually drifted off without notice being taken.

114 302 614 Face painting is construed by McGee as sematic of totemic line-

[91 cont.]

582 promiscuity of gatherers corroborative of the ideas of Morgan, is very far from being simple, tending more to confirm the ideas of Kirchoff regarding the greater restriction and regulation of marital relations in societies having a rudimentary economy. In all Seri marriages close consanguineous relatives seem to be avoided. More precisely, a classification of relatives is estab-
582 lished, from which only one group can provide a spouse. To
621 differentiate the Seri system from clan systems and marital
●601 classes, in which each member belongs to a fixed class in relation to all the other members, in this system the classification varies with respect to the position of each person, that is to say, it is a true system of kinship. The factors of sex, polarity, generation, relative age, affinity, and consanguinity are involved in it, acting to deny or permit the possibility of marriage. Perhaps because of the small size of the Seri group, only within which are marriages concluded, the kinship system results in a clear identification of all persons by terms that are functions of marital relationships: approximately 50 per cent are excluded for being of the [92] same sex; 30 per cent for being of a distinct generation (very few aged or very young); the consanguineous relatives close to the affinal relatives and married persons are also excluded, leaving only so many persons as possible mates, a situation that is reflected in the kinship terminology.

582 It is not that sexual relations may be prohibited, for
[837] there is relative freedom in extramarital, including prenuptial,
[836] sexual relations, but the "marriage" association, sanctioned by the society and for which there is strong community pressure, has the limitations mentioned. And it tends to be realized, in spite of the disadvantages of the disappearance of sexual liberty, avoidance of near affinal relatives, and the economic obligations that begin upon the conclusion of the marriage.

156 With regard to individual development, this social struc-
155 ture is of such nature that it has well integrated cultural elements that create a very special personality, characterized by improvidence, emotional instability, inconstancy, and feelings of security, dispossession, and dependence.